An Address
by
Yancey, Wm. L

AN ADDRESS

ON

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

DELIVERED

BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

ON THE

FOURTH JULY, 1850.

BY WILLIAM L. YANCEY.

MONTGOMERY:
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Correspondence.

MONTGOMERY, July 5, 1850.

Hon. W. L. YANCEY :—

Dear Sir :

The undersigned, committee, &c., were highly gratified with the manner in which you discharged the duty assigned you by them, and hereby tender you our congratulations and thanks for the truly able and eloquent eulogy delivered by you, on yesterday, upon the life, genius and public services of the late illustrious Carolinian—JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

We beg that you will yield to our wishes, and those of the great body of our fellow-citizens, and will furnish us with a copy of the address for publication.

We have the honor to be, sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient servants,

J. J. SEIBELS,
J. A. ELMORE,
E. Y. FAIR,
} *Committee.*

MONTGOMERY, July 6, 1850.

Gentlemen :

In accordance with the request contained in your note of yesterday, I herewith transmit to you the address, on the life and character of Mr. CALHOUN, delivered by me on the 4th instant.

Your obedient servant,

W. L. YANCEY.

To Col. J. J. SEIBELS,
J. A. ELMORE, Esq.,
Gen. E. Y. FAIR,
} *Committee.*

ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :

John C. Calhoun died, in the City of Washington, on the 31st of March last. Our great countryman had long known that

"The duties of life are more than life;"

and had crowded the years of his existence with deeds of goodness. Having lived in the performance of duty, he found it easy to submit himself with cheerfulness to the closing duty of life—to surrender his spirit to God with "an unfaltering trust."

But to the country, and to the section, of both of which he was the pride and glory, his death was a most unpropitious event. Dark as is the storm, which had long been gathering in our horizon, and now rages with portentous power, we ever had a cheering hope while that veteran pilot trod the deck. Now that he has gone, who is there in our midst that does not fancy that the wild winds howl in fiercer gusts through the rigging—that the mighty waves roll higher, and beat upon our vessel with a more engulphing power—that the seething deep yawns darker and more horribly beneath the trembling prow? His death occurred at a time when the two great divisions of our country—the North and the South—were arrayed against each other upon a sectional question of vital importance—when the public mind exhibited a more high-wrought intensity and bitterness of feeling in reference to the issue, than had been manifested at any previous period in our history.

Thirty years ago, when the sound of this great controversy in one of its terrible phases rolled through the coun-

try, and men became awakened to the imminence of the crisis, Mr. Jefferson described it, in the most ominous and striking language, as like "the sound of the fire bell at midnight." And who that has ever heard that solemn bell—its tones breaking suddenly on the dull ear of night, startling the quiet sleeper from his pleasant dream; arousing an alarmed population to witness the crackling, leaping and restraintless flames, as they pierce the thick darkness that lays upon the city like a pall—consuming with equal avidity the proud dwelling and the humble tenement—remorselessly sparing nothing, not even the forms of what it cannot wholly destroy, will fail to appreciate the force and the harrowing truth of Mr. Jefferson's remark!

Years passed on; and again this topic breaks upon the ear. A demon spirit is in the midst of a Christian brotherhood. It formed a united, powerful, religious denomination, with an ecclesiastical government co-extensive with our whole country—whose morning and evening orisons ascended from the fisherman's hut, moist with the spray of the Atlantic, and were heard in the far distant cabin of the hardy pioneer, on the verge of the Western prairie. Even the bands which united these men together were broken by this fell spirit; and communion between the slaveholder and his assailant was dissolved.

Time rolled on; and this evil genius of our country is seen sitting in the Senate Hall. Our people have emerged from a war, covered with military glory. The American name has been made to blaze in brilliancy before the world, as that of a people possessing every requisite of a high military character; and their government has been demonstrated to be as energetic and prompt in war, as it is acknowledged to be eminently fitted for the development of the policies of peace. The stars and the stripes have been consecrated as the symbols of victory. The gallant dead of our armies lay entombed in a common grave, fallen in a common cause; and besides these joint, indivisible glories, we have brought as trophies, from the fields of our victories and renown, immense territorial possessions.

Shall the enjoyment of these territories be common to all? —strange to say, is the theme on which that Senate deliberates.

Encouraged by the success of its encroachments upon the South in 1820—inspirited by its fell and unhappy triumph in dividing a Christian brotherhood, whose sacred bond of union was hallowed by the blood of the Redeemer, that evil genius, from a place which it had usurped in the Senate, was assailing in haughty arrogance the very citadel of our institutions.

In the midst of those grave and reverend Senators, was one of tall and attenuated, but of most commanding form, upon whose broad brow Dignity, Truth and sage Experience had set their impress—while genius flashed from the depth of those brilliant eyes, and Eloquence and Logic recognized their own, in the tones of his voice. Though conscious that even then death was snapping asunder the cords of his life, and that eternity, with its vast issues, was about opening to his view, he still lingered upon the scene of his renown, and once again essayed an effort in behalf of the rights of the South. That last effort was fit to crown the noble column which for long years the great Senator had been erecting to his renown as a statesman, an orator and a patriot. The simplicity and clearness of its statements—its calm and dispassionate reasoning—the conclusiveness of its deductions—its splendid analysis of the causes of the present evil and the undeniable justness of the remedy proposed—its chaste and fervid patriotism and passionless style, so becoming one who but paused on the verge of eternity to counsel with his countrymen, combined to make this one of the mightiest and most effective speeches ever delivered in her behalf by the great champion of the South. It made the cause of the South the cause of the Union. It placed that cause high upon the altar of the constitution—only to be reached and displaced by a destruction of the temple of which that constitution was the palladium.

This last effort o'er, the great statesman turned him

aside to die: and soon in the stillness of early morn, with voice hardly less clear and firm, than when he addressed list'ning senates, he announced the hour of his own dissolution to be at hand; and casting back upon Time but one wish—that he could have been spared another hour in the service of his deeply loved—and even in that last moment of existence—his yet remembered country, his mighty and pure spirit hopefully and unfalteringly entered into eternity.

Such a death—of such a man—upon such an arena—and in the midst of such a crisis, could hardly fail to arrest public attention, in an unusual degree. But who, even among the most enthusiastic admirers of the immortal Southerner, expected to see

> "* * * each separating plea,
> Of sect, clime, party, and degree,"

waived in the midst of the discussion of such a topic, in honor of his uncompromising virtue; and to behold even the fierce spirit of Fanaticism let fall a tear over the grave of the matchless champion of Southern Rights?

Death, for a brief moment, seemed to revive again the spirit of ancient brotherhood in the American heart. The gifted and the good every where have mourned for his loss, and have sought every appropriate mode to give expression to their deep sense of the bereavement sustained by the whole country.

But to the South peculiarly belongs the sacred duty of perpetuating the memory of his noble virtues and his splendid intellect—of wreathing his wide renown with

> "A chaplet glittering with the tears she sheds."

For her he lived. That he might have no rival to her, in his heart, he early sacrificed the bright hopes of a lofty and honorable ambition; and with a truth and singleness of devotion, which has no parallel in her history, he served her till the very hour of his death; and dying, craved of insatiate time one hour more, that he might devote it to her cause.

We have met to-day, fellow-citizens, to perform our part of that grateful, though mournful duty which the South owes to the memory of such a statesman. And if as true to our own best interests as he proved true to the South, we shall engrave his principles and his virtues deeply upon the tablets of our hearts, and with the pious care of Old Mortality, we shall ever deepen the lines which time would stealthily erase.

I esteem it a happy privilege to have been chosen to be your representative on this occasion in the portraiture of the brilliant genius and moral grandeur of John C. Calhoun. But proud as is that privilege, it cannot be disguised that it imposes a most delicate and difficult task. I have approached to its performance with a diffidence, that every one here will appreciate, who is at all acquainted with the political history of the last twenty years. I have to address Nullifiers and Union men—Tariff men and anti-Tariff—advocates of a National Bank, and friends of the Independent Treasury—Whigs and Democrats, upon subjects which yet excite and divide the great parties, and in a place where that division is maintained with as much rigidity and excited feeling as in any other of equal size and intelligence. But I should be unworthy of your confidence—unfit to address you in commendation of such a character as that of John C. Calhoun, were I to shackle the tongue of truth in delineating the great events of his time —were I not to speak fearlessly and candidly, but I trust, dispassionately, in relation to the men and measures that are so intimately—nay, so inseparably interwoven with his political career. Then,

"* * * hear me for my cause;"

and, as the character of the deceased statesman belongs alone to history, it is incumbent upon us to judge it with that stern impartiality, with which she contemplates the mighty hosts that throng her tribunal.

Two thousand years ago, an illustrious Roman, in addressing a multitude of his countrymen, pointing to the

bleeding corpse of "the greatest Roman of them all," said:

"But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might have stood against the world; now lies he there, and none so poor to do him reverence!"

How different with the name of the great American we this day mourn! Death has no control over it, but to sanctify—no effect, but to remove the only barriers to its wide and widening influence. There lies he; and none so stern and proud, that bow not in sorrow o'er his grave—none so wise, but yield an unaffected tribute to his genius and acquirements—none so powerful, but do him reverence! The study of such a character is calculated at all times "to raise the genius and to mend the heart." The greater the advance which shall be made by his countrymen in virtue and intelligence and in the science of self-government, the higher will it be held as a model, both of public and of private excellence.

It is not my purpose to give any thing like a biographical sketch of Mr. Calhoun, further than may be necessary to show the nature of his intellect, his character as a citizen, public and private, his views of our constitution, and his influence upon the events of his time. There are two grand divisions of his political life, apparent to every observer, in which he acted upon entirely distinct, though not conflicting, principles. The one period embraces his career as a member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, from 1811 to 1817; in which the government was weakened by fierce, intestine, party divisions at a time when it required to be strengthened, to enable it to resist external pressure. The other period embraces his Senatorial career, in which has taken place a mighty struggle as to the relative rights and powers of the several States and of the General Government. In the contests of both epoch, Mr. Calhoun took a leading part, and upon each era has left an abiding impress of his commanding genius and pure patriotism.

When Mr. Calhoun took his seat in Congress in the fall of 1811, it was after but a brief intellectual preparation for

the great conflicts and important labors which were reserved for him. He had but ten years previously commenced his education, and within that time had graduated at Yale College with the highest distinction—had received a thorough legal education—had practised law with marked success—and following the bent of his inclination, as clearly indicated by the subject of his commencement address—"the qualifications necessary to constitute a perfect statesman," had turned his attention to politics, and had been elected a member of the twelfth Congress.

The questions then engaging the attention of that body, were all of a nature so grave, so important, involving the very independence of the country—the men who composed the House, of which he became a member, were of such brilliant abilities, of such towering reputation—were such tried and eloquent statesmen, that the young Carolinian might well have served through that Congress, without acquiring prominence or distinction, in its important discussions, and yet not have detracted from that high character for ability, which he enjoyed among his constituents.

Mr. Clay has said that such "a galaxy of eminent and able men, has not been assembled in any other Congress since he entered the public service;" yet, the same high authority assures us—high, with reference to his own genius, and almost matchless oratory and skill in legislative debate—high, with reference to his intimate knowledge of the facts upon which he rendered his opinion, and with reference to the position he has occupied in the political world,—that "amongst that splendid constellation, none shone more bright and brilliant, than the star which is now set."

"Splendid," indeed, might Mr. Clay call that assemblage. There was that renowned and eccentric Virginian, John Randolph, whose sparkling genius, biting wit, scathing invective, and skill in parliamentary controversy, made him one of the most dangerous antagonists to encounter, which any legislative assembly had ever produced.

There, too, was Cheves; a man of comprehensive in-

tellect, of sound and matured judgment and high character, which, in the next Congress, elevated him to the Speaker's chair—yet redolent with the grace and genius of a Clay.

There, too, was LOWNDES—the pure and the gifted Lowndes; upon whose early made tomb, his friends might well be content to inscribe the just language of Daniel Webster—"that great and good Carolinian."

There, too, was CLAY; the ardent, impetuous, gallant-hearted statesman of the West, whose eloquence has electrified eloquent senates—whose skill in all matters of parliamentary proceedings, and whose indomitable will, never failing energies and elastic courage, so well qualify him to be a leader amongst leaders.

There, too, was GRUNDY; undoubtedly one of the most skilled and successful criminal advocates who ever addressed a jury, and a parliamentary debater of great power.

Meeting him in the next Congress, came GASTON; who, became one of the most learned and accomplished jurists, that ever graced the judiciary of any State—And QUINCY, whose fluent and graceful eloquence, and biting sarcasm, made him justly the pride of Massachusetts—And WEBSTER—DANIEL WEBSTER; whose every movement, physical and intellectual, is of most impressive dignity; whose style and diction is full of eloquence and purity; whose imagination is so chastened and poetical—whose intellect is so profound and so comprehensive, as to have caused his admiring friends, with questionable propriety, to have styled him "the God-like"—WEBSTER! whose name is embalmed, in some of the choicest specimens of logic and eloquence, to be found in the English, or in any other language. Thus high was held the standard by which the measure of the young Carolinian's intellectual and political stature was to be taken.

As I have said, too, the questions at issue were of the highest importance—involving vast consequences, no less than the honor and independence of the country. Our rights as a neutral nation, during the gigantic and terrible

wars which for years had raged between the belligerent powers of Europe, had been totally disregarded, (and particularly so by Great Britain,) in their eager attempt to cripple, and to destroy each other's resources. So complete had been made our commercial vassalage, that no American vessel could reach a European market, save through an English port. The manifests of our merchant vessels—the roll of our ships of war were not safe from an insulting inspection by British officers: and our seamen were impressed, on any deck, private or national, whenever caprice or English naval exigencies suggested.

But though these exactions and insults were annoying and mortifying, our commerce had become prosperous to an unprecedented degree. We were the carriers of the belligerent world: and while the nation suffered in character and grew poor in spirit, our merchants and ship-builders accumulated fortunes. The government was young—but in the gristle, as it were. Our leading statesmen were men of peace—too philosophically wise—too timid—too deeply impressed with the prevalent idea, that a republican government was inherently weak, in a contest of arms. Hence, when our rights were trampled upon, and our flag insulted; when American citizens were forcibly torn from the decks of our ships, and made to fight the battles of England; when all reparation was refused; when meagre apology was quickly followed by renewed wrong and insult, instead of adopting energetic measures for prompt resistance, and appealing to the courage and patriotism of the people to sustain them, the authorities of that day relied upon the negative virtues of what has been called the restrictive system—upon embargoes—upon non-importation and non-intercourse acts; and that all things might harmonise with this system of unwise inactivity, our navy was laid up and our guns were transferred to gun-boats. The charm of British naval invincibility lay like an incubus upon the world. In addition to all this, the Federal party seemed violently opposed to war with England, and even to the inactive measures adopted.

The policy of both the administration and of the opposition, though adopted with an entirely different aim and purpose, instead of permitting and encouraging the energies and indignation of the people to expand, in every aggressive form, as the best preservative of national honor, tended directly to deaden the national spirit and sensibility, and to prepare them for ignominious submission to wrong.

There were some gallant spirits, however, who were resolved to work a change, if possible, in the policy of the government. Among them was Mr. Calhoun; and he signalised his advent into the councils of the country, at an early day in the session, by a speech in reply to Mr. Randolph, and in advocacy of an immediate and extensive preparation for war. His cotemporaries have told us that the sententious, condensed and powerful logic of that first effort—the ardent and lofty patriotism which breathed in its every line—the elevated sentiments with which it abounded—the manliness with which he met the whole question at issue, announced the dawn of a new era in our political history, in the rise of a young statesman distinguished by the possession of the highest faculties of the mind, and of the noblest qualities of the heart. Said the Richmond Enquirer, of that day, "he reminds us of the old sages of the old Congress, but with all the graces of youth. We hail this young Carolinian as one of those master spirits, who stamp their names upon the age in which they live."

Believing forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, Mr. Calhoun commenced his career by a direction of all his energies to the one great purpose of preparing the country to enter upon, and to honorably and successfully conduct, a war with Great Britain. To do this, not only were several favorite measures of his own party to be attacked and repealed, but the hearts of his countrymen were to be reached and emboldened to look the danger in the face—the flame of patriotic ardor and indignation was to be enkindled in their bosoms. The inertness of the restric-

tive policy was to be overcome as a necessary preliminary to the adoption of more active measures. The true greatness, the grasp, comprehensiveness and courage of Mr. Calhoun's intellect were thus early developed, in that series of magnificent parliamentary movements by which he aimed to strike the shackles which had been imposed by the restrictive system, not only from the commerce, but, what in his estimation was of far more vital importance, from the heart of the nation. To realise the undaunted high character of the intellect which thus threw so young a man into the lead upon such great questions, and among such a body of compeers, it must be borne in mind that the policy he arraigned had its origin in the cabinet of Mr. Jefferson and was decidedly sustained by the popular administration of Mr. Madison. But no precedent or authority, however high—no party, however strong, has ever deterred Mr. Calhoun from pursuing what he believed to be the true interests of the country. Seeing clearly how much this system of restrictions was at war with the genius of our people and of our government, he opposed its continuance; and, appreciating the dangers of the contest at hand, he advocated a policy in full sympathy with the character of the people who were to sustain it. The argument used by him it may not be amiss, in part, to quote here, as a specimen of the reasoning and lofty eloquence which then distinguished him. It bears all the characteristics of some of his most powerful Senatorial efforts—sententious, logical, full of compressed energy of thought, abounding in lofty sentiment, appealing to and arousing the highest and noblest passions. Said Mr. Calhoun:

"The difference is almost infinite between the passive and the active state of the mind. Tie down a hero, and he feels the puncture of a pin: throw him into battle, and he is almost insensible to vital gashes. So in war. Impelled alternately by hope and fear, stimulated by revenge, depressed by shame or elevated by victory, the people become invincible. No privation can shake their fortitude; no calamity break their spirit. Even when equally successful, the contrast between the two systems is striking. War and restriction may leave the country equally exhausted, but the latter not only leaves you poor, but even when successful, dispirited, divided, discontented, with diminished patriotism, and

the morals of a considerable portion of your people corrupted. Not so in war. In that state, the common danger unites all, strengthens the bonds of society, and feeds the flame of patriotism. The national character mounts to energy. In exchange for the expenses and privations of war, you obtain military and naval skill, and a more perfect organization of such parts of your administration as are connected with the science of national defence. Sir, are these advantages to be counted as trifles in the present state of the world? Can they be measured by moneyed valuation? I would prefer a single victory over the enemy, by sea or land, to all the good we shall ever derive from the continuation of the non-importation act. I know not that a victory would produce an equal pressure on the enemy, but I am certain of what is of greater consequence, it would be accompanied by more salutary effects on ourselves. The memory of Saratoga, Princeton and Eutaw is immortal. It is there you will find the country's boast and pride—the inexhaustible source of great and heroic sentiments. But what will history say of restriction? What examples worthy of imitation will it furnish to posterity? What pride, what pleasure, will our children find in the events of such times? Let me not be considered romantic. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its courage, its fortitude, its skill and virtue, for protection. These are the only safeguards in the hour of danger. Man was endowed with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he is to conquer by endurance. He is not incrusted in a shell. He is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering, for defence. No, sir; it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature, he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind; it is these that render man the lord of the world; it is the destiny of his condition that nations rise above nations, as they are endowed in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities."

The House very soon appreciated the high qualities of the young member from South Carolina, and before six months had elapsed from his entry into public life, he was made Chairman of its most important Committee, that on Foreign Affairs, and as such, in June, 1812, he reported the bill providing for the declaration of war.

The course of Mr. Calhoun upon the Navy question deserves a particular notice. It had been the policy of the Republican party not to increase the navy—to make no preparations for offensive operations on the ocean. He gave a cordial support, however, to a bill reported by Mr. Cheves, placing the navy on a war footing—making it a reliable arm of power. He saw that on the ocean, Great Britain, from the vast extent of her possessions, must be

vulnerable, notwithstanding her fleets were so numerous—that she required a naval force of greatly superior numbers, while, owing to the compactness of our position and our distance from the seat of her power, a much smaller number of vessels of war would answer our purposes, for both defensive and offensive operations. He reasoned correctly too, that we had all the elements to constitute an effective navy, in a commercial marine that had grown and flourished for many years to an unprecedented extent. Our ships, as a consequence of the success of the bill, were sent forth upon the ocean to contest the prize of naval supremacy with the vaunted mistress of the seas: and what a flood of glory was soon shed over the stars and the stripes as the result! Who can estimate the influence which those repeated splendid naval victories had, in cheering the drooping spirits of our armies—in keeping alive the fire of patriotic resistance in the bosoms of our countrymen—in nerving them for greater endurance, and more heroic efforts, in their great struggle with the haughty victors of Napoleon? The sounds of the American guns, as they swept in tones of victory over the wave to our shores, not only cheered the great popular heart, but their reverberation in the halls of Congress materially aided the friends of the war in the unnatural and unhappy struggles which they had to encounter with its opponents. In one of those debates, taking advantage of the termination of the gigantic contest in Europe, by which England had become free to turn her undivided strength against our country, armed in all that terrible panoply of war with which she had led the van in the attack and triumph over Napoleon, the opposition made renewed and reinvigorated attacks upon the conductors of the war—in seemingly exultant tones pointed to the apparently immense disparity of means possessed by the two powers for war, and proclaimed it hopeless longer to contend in so unequal a contest. Nothing daunted, full of cheering hope and high courage, his eagle glance piercing the lurid atmosphere of that dark moment, and seeing and feeling the latent elements which were at work

in our favor, Mr. Calhoun replied at length, with such power of argument, such glowing eloquence and fervid patriotism, as to kindle anew the almost expiring flame of hope. Tempting as it is, I must forego the pleasure of quoting largely from that great effort, and content myself with a single extract, showing his appreciation of those naval victories:

"Sir, I hear the future audibly announced in the past—in the splendid victories over the Guerriere, the Java and the Macedonian. We, and all nations, by these victories, are taught a lesson never to be forgotten—Opinion is power. The charm of British naval invincibility is gone!"

Those brilliant victories had breathed their never-dying courage and hope into his own bosom, enabling him to arouse his own great heart to the magnitude of the crisis; to drive back an opposition, encouraged by, if not exulting in, the dangers surrounding the government; and to struggle against the despondency which was creeping over the country, overwhelming the feeble and appalling the stout. The clarion notes of the gallant-hearted statesman rang clear and loud over the land, re-echoed from every hill—prolonged, in inspiring strains, through every valley. The despairing and despondent were revived; the faltering and the doubting were made firm. 'Few but undismayed,' our warriors gathered to their country's standards; and when the battalions of Wellington's vaunted invincibles landed on our shores, covered with laurels, they were scattered in defeat by the hardy riflemen of the West, who were inspirited by these lofty sentiments, and were led by one who was kindred in the great elements of courage, sagacity and integrity, to the statesman, who, throughout that war, had been a beacon-light to the whole country.

With the war, closed the first three years of Mr. Calhoun's public life; and our annals, filled, as they are, with instances of brilliant individual success, present none in which any, in so brief a period, has marked out so many great and important measures of national policy, and has attained so eminent a reputation for wisdom, virtue and eloquence. That this fact was even then generally recog-

nised, may be gathered from the remark of that eminent man, the elder Dallas, that Mr. Calhoun was "the young Hercules of the war."

In the legislation of the next three years of his service in the House of Representatives, will be found the germs of those great questions of domestic policy, upon which the republican party has since split; and the discussion of which, at a far later day, has drawn forth such varied talent, and has tended so materially to indoctrinate the public mind with important constitutional truths. A glance at that period shows the somewhat singular fact, that most of the eminent men of that day occupied positions, on the questions at issue, apparently inconsistent with views expressed by them at a later period.

The Tariff and National Bank acts of 1816, and the Internal Improvement bill of the same year, were all originated and supported by the great republican war party; under circumstances, however, and with purposes, which commend their action to us as that of men of fervid patriotism, but not of those strict constitutional views inculcated by the republican creed, as handed down to us by Jefferson and Madison. Mr. Calhoun bears a full share of the responsibility of those measures. It is, however, but just to state, that he bears it in common with the republicans of that period. I will illustrate this by referring to the Bank question alone. Mr. Madison, the revered leader of that party, had been, in earlier days, opposed to the establishment of a National Bank, on constitutional grounds; but, at the close of the war, recommended the creation of such an institution, as demanded by necessity—declaring the question, as to its constitutionality, "to be precluded by repeated recognitions of it, under varied circumstances."

Mr. Clay, then one of the most brilliant luminaries of that party, had in 1811 made an able argument to prove that such an institution was unconstitutional, but he yielded the question in 1816. Those who opposed the measure did so on grounds well calculated to commend it to the favorable consideration of the republicans. The anti-war

party looked upon it as one of a series of measures designed to rescue the country from the difficulties produced by the war; and as such, opposed it. To a very great extent, the members of that opposition have since become advocates of the measure. Is it at all wonderful that Mr. Calhoun, the youngest of the prominent statesmen of that era, should have been found yielding to its fixed political impressions?

It is clear, then, from this brief review, that Mr. Calhoun shared, with the leading statesmen of that day, opinions as to the powers of Congress, which a larger experience and more mature reflection have led him to modify or to change.

Neither his early political education nor the circumstances which surrounded him were calculated to excite him to that rigid constitutional investigation of measures which so pre-eminently distinguished him at a later period of his life. The great constitutional principles, the advocacy of which in restraint of Congressional legislation had brought Mr. Jefferson into power in the year 1800, had too little scope for action and hardy development. The questions immediately arising out of the great contests in Europe, brought on by the French revolution, called the attention of Congress from our internal to our external relations. The agitation of the billows reached even these distant and peaceful shores, deeply affecting our commercial rights, and, in a measure, involving our national independence. The great issues of the day were made upon the powers of Congress over our foreign relations. These are necessarily broad, and their exercise rarely ever meet with that critical investigation which measures affecting the internal economy of the Government generally undergo. In conflict with other nations, the suggestions of patriotism are rarely ever challenged at the gates where intellect keeps watch and ward. This state of things continued till near the close of Mr. Madison's administration; while the two last years of that administration may well be considered as belonging to the same era, being devoted to clearing away the decks of the vessel of State after the conflict—to putting

her at once into trim, prepared to meet any contingency which the untoward times might throw up—and to taking care of the great interests, which, serving the country well in war, might be jeopardised, unless watchfully guarded, in peace. Such circumstances were unpropitious to the development of the better aim of our government—eminently unfavorable to the study of the complicated constitutional checks and balances which, by reason of their nice adjustment in relation to the rights of the States and the powers of government, render ours the best system of government upon earth.

It was in the midst of this state of things, when the irritation consequent upon the high-handed course of Great Britain was at its highest, that Mr. Calhoun entered upon the duties of life. His political education, therefore, though begun during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, had none of the advantages of practical instruction in the great fundamental truths, the advocacy of which had brought Mr. Jefferson into power, and constitutes his chief renown and glory. On the contrary, no sooner had he closed his collegiate course and left the classic groves of Yale, than, even in the quiet recess of the lawyer's office, the sound of Mr. Jefferson's announcement broke upon his ear, informing him that the nations of Europe were in commotion and arming against each other—that our rights were at stake, and that we must prepare to meet the unjust assumptions of the belligerents with "an effectual and determined opposition."

The exercise of the war power necessarily kept Government running in the same channels which it had pursued previous to the election of Mr. Jefferson—namely, in that of legislation at discretion. The head and the heart of every patriot sympathised in every movement calculated to strengthen the Government for the conflict, and all this not the less certainly, that the Federal party, truer to the instincts of party than to the interests of the country, generally opposed these measures, which an adhesion to the

principles of their school might well have permitted them to support.

There was, too, another fact to be urged in explanation of the course, not only of Mr. Calhoun, but of the great Republican party, at that juncture. The complete triumph of that party, under the auspices of Mr. Jefferson, had seemed to settle the policy of the government upon the State Rights principle. The Federal party had been gradually losing ground in popular esteem, and, during the war and its antecedent policy, had conducted its opposition on other than the great principles which distinguished it in the days of Hamilton. It factiously sought to embarrass an administration it could not overthrow. This course effectually crushed even the last hope it may have entertained of regaining power. At the close of Mr. Madison's administration, as a party, it disbanded; and its members sought shelter from public odium in the ranks of the republican masses. All danger from the strong, consolidating, doctrines of the old Federal party was thought to be at an end. Having no vigilant and powerful foe hanging on its flanks—serving to keep it to the narrow track of constitutional duty, the Republican party, who had possession of the government, unwillingly permitted it to take too wide a scope in its legislation.

This is the light—these are the circumstances in which Mr. Calhoun's course, at that day, should be viewed and judged.

An allegation of inconsistency can have no just force, however, unless it involves an implication of a change of political opinions for personal considerations; for surely it is no matter for arraignment of any man, that reflection and experience have induced him to change his views upon any given question. Looking at the allegation in this light, Mr. Calhoun's whole life challenges scrutiny.

But if Mr. Calhoun's career, as a member of the House of Representatives, shews a course of action, in some particulars, variant from the principles of the State Rights school, nobly has he atoned for the error. If to his con-

duct any of the then Federal tendencies of his party were at all attributable, it is undeniable that to his ceaseless, brilliant and self-sacrificing efforts, for the last quarter of a century, it owes its return to the principles of 1798.

The sixteen years that invervened between the two grand divisions of his legislative career, constitute not the least interesting period of his life; for it was during this period that he laid the broad and firm foundations of that magnificent superstructure which he reared to his fame while a Senator of the State of South Carolina.

Though, during the whole of this time, he occupied two high stations in the Executive department, his position was eminently favorable to a study of the principles of the Constitution, and to a close observation of the working of the system—particularly during the period in which he held the office of Vice President. He diligently improved these opportunities; he made the constitution and its history a subject of profound study and reflection. He adopted, as true expositions of that instrument, the celebrated report and resolutions of Mr. Madison, adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1798, and the resolutions of the Legislature of Kentucky of 1799, written by Mr. Jefferson.

Judging the men and measures of that period by those tests, he was not long in coming to the conclusion, that the spirit of Federalism was in the ascendant, under the name and garb of Republicanism. The fulfillment of Mr. Jefferson's prophecy had taken place—in 1804, he wrote to a friend—"The Federalists know that, *eo nomine*, they are gone forever. Their object, therefore, is how to return into power under some other form. Undoubtedly they have but one means, which is to divide the republicans, join the minority and barter with them for the cloak of their name. * * * Thus a bastard system of Federo-republicanism will rise on the ruins of the true principles of our revolution." The fruition of this barter of dangerous principles for a popular name, was the elevation of a scion of the old federal stock to the Presidency, in

1824, and a development of principles, whose direct tendency was to undermine the constitution by a consolidation of the powers of the Federal Government and of the States—making ours, in lieu of a Federal Union, a consolidated Democracy. It was an observable and an alarming fact, too, that whatever assailment those federal principles received, was generally upon other than high constitutional grounds. "Vigilance," it is said, "is the price of liberty." But vigilance had fled her post, falsely deeming that danger was far away.

That political equilibrium between North and South, to which Mr. Calhoun has more than once alluded as having existed at the adoption of the constitution, he ascertained was fast yielding before the encroachments of Northern cupidity. The hopes which the settlement of the territory acquired with Louisiana held out to the South had been, in a measure, blasted in the adjustment of the Missouri question. Not content with the great preponderance of political power thus eventually secured to it, by what must be termed an unconstitutional crusade against the South, the North sought also to enrich its section through means of its numerical superiority and control over the taxing power and over the expenditures of the government. The tariff acts of 1818 and 1824 had been enacted with an express view of encouraging and protecting the home industry of the North; while millions of the public treasure were expended there in the building of roads, digging of canals, and improvement of its rivers and harbors. The origin and entire history of the enactment of the tariff of 1828 were of such a character, at once so shamefully regardless of the constitution and of the true aim and object of government, as to excite in the mind of Mr. Calhoun, and of the South generally, both alarm and indignation. With universal accord it was "damned to immortality," under the justly deserved title of "the bill of abominations," given to it by Mr. Calhoun. Protests were made against it in all parts of the South, and in December, 1828, the Legislature of South Carolina adopted the celebrated

"South Carolina exposition and protest on the subject of the tariff"—laying bare the unconstitutionality of the system—the danger to be apprehended to constitutional liberty from its adoption and continuance—and pointing out the right of the State, in the last resort, to interpose her veto against its execution within her limits. This report was written by Mr. Calhoun. He was deeply impressed with the conviction that the systematic usurpation of power by Congress, both in taxing one industry of the country to support another and in profuse expenditure of the public revenue for sectional purposes, sustained as it was by nearly every leading public man of that day and by both the great wings of the so called Republican party, if not checked, would soon destroy the rights of the States ; and that the only remedy for so great and growing an evil was State interposition. This doctrine had been announced in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799. The following memorable and pointed passage is to be found in the Kentucky reeolutions, draughted by Mr. Jefferson :

"The several States which formed that instrument being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction ; and that a nullification by these sovereignties of all unauthorised acts, done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy."

The State Rights party, however, who thus fearlessly grappled with the growing evil of the times, were not disposed to proceed hastily, nor without giving full time for public opinion to develope itself on the issue made. The national debt was not yet paid; and they assigned, as a limit to longer submission to the unconstitutional enactment, the payment of that debt. Then there could be neither rational or national excuse offered for the perpetuation of the act. At that time, if not repealed or modified, the act would accumulate a vast surplus in the Treasury, which being divided among the States, according to an avowed correlative policy, would operate as an annual bonus in favor of the continuance of the system. Mr. Calhoun and his friends were also willing to await the development

of the policy of Gen. Jackson's administration, which they had voted to bring into power, under the hope that the great influence of that popular leader would be exerted against the system. Five years rolled away; the national debt had been paid off; the question had been made as to the repeal or modification of the obnoxious act; and the result was the act of 1832, declared by Mr. Clay and the administration to be the final adjustment of the system—an act in many particulars a grosser violation of the constitution than that of 1828. It announced, indeed, protection to be the settled policy of the government; and leaving an immense surplus thus collected, over and above the wants of government, it contained within itself the means of its perpetuation—it invited the issue announced by South Carolina.

Not less delusive had been the reliance of that State upon the administration. The first and second messages of Gen. Jackson sustained Congress in the exercise of the protective principle—announced that it was not probable that any satisfactory adjustment of the tariff would be made, and recommended that the surplus revenue should be distributed among the States.

With every door of hope of a proper adjustment of this great question thus closed upon her, South Carolina was driven by the submissive policy of her sister States to look to herself alone for redress in this trying emergency. She was not unprepared for the crisis, nor was she deterred by its dangers, confessedly great as they were. She adopted an ordinance nullifying the obnoxious act within the limits of the State. The Legislature passed a law to carry it into effect in February, 1833. Gen. Hayne was recalled from the United States Senate to fill the important post of Governor of the State at this crisis: and, in full accordance with her declaration, that she but exercised a rightful remedy against a palpable infraction of her rights, and that she warred not upon the Union, the State elected Mr. Calhoun to be her representative in the Senate. Resigning the office of Vice President, he took the oath to support the

constitution of the United States, and commenced that brilliant career as a Senator which, whatever judgment may be passed upon nullification, has done more to enlighten the public mind as to the true theory of our institutions, and to give a determinate direction to the policy of our government, than even the great discussions which brought the Republican party into power in the year 1800.

Simple as was the act thus performed—the taking the oath as Senator, in his case it was deemed by the community to be one of no ordinary importance. It was a superstition of olden times that, if the murderer should touch the dead body of his victim, blood would at once ooze from the murder-telling wounds. Some such undefined feeling had filled the Senate chamber with an excited audience on the morning in which Mr. Calhoun was expected to take his seat. He had been branded as actuated by a ruthless ambition—by a disposition to rule or ruin—as an enemy of the Union—as the Cataline of the republic. Although his foes would not accept the solemn administration of the oath to support the constitution, as a test of innocence or guilt on these awful issues, yet they thronged that chamber to witness, with curious eyes, his bearing in the scene—to gather some slight evidences, it might be, of the truth of their convictions—to behold him shrinking before the majesty of a violated constitution. But how vain their expectations! Mark the high and lofty bearing of the man—note the erect and sternly majestic head—listen to the deep, quick, firm tones, which announce to the attentive audience that he will be true to the constitution. Observe that calm, motionless posture! He looks, indeed, the cast iron man—incapable of being bent from his high purpose—immoveable, unchangeable in his resolve to follow the path pointed out by Truth, Justice and the Constitution.

Let us pause for a moment and examine the position assumed by Mr. Calhoun with reference to the oft-repeated charges of that day, that he was a disunionist from motives of disappointed ambition. In 1824, Mr. Calhoun was

elected to the office of Vice President by an overwhelming popular vote—having been selected as the candidate for the station by the friends both of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams. It was not an insignificant tribute to the high personal and intellectual qualities of the man; it was an evidence of his popularity with the masses, of which any man might well be proud. Events that followed caused him to take a decided stand against Mr. Adams' administration, and in favor of the election of Gen. Jackson. He was the acknowledged head of that wing of the Republican party by a title as undeniable as was the position of Gen. Jackson as its candidate. His splendid administration of the War Department had exhibited him as possessed of the highest order of administrative ability; while in genius and intellect and parliamentary experience and skill, there were none in the party of Gen. Jackson to take rank with him. All looked to him as the successor to that popular man. Events were rapidly developing the decided ascendancy of the supporters of Gen. Jackson. Mr. Calhoun's great compeers in the Republican ranks were not in the way of his elevation. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster were attached to the fortunes of Mr. Adams, while the intellect of Mr. Crawford had been darkened in the very noon-day of his political life.

In his place as Vice President, he had none of the responsibilities of the measures of Congress resting upon him. He had but to be silent—to observe a masterly inactivity—to close his eyes to the wrong done the constitution and to the South—to stop his ears to the cry of just indignation and remonstrance which came up from every Southern State—to have continued to float upon the great popular tide which at the next election wafted Gen. Jackson and himself into the highest places in the government and gave to them a majority in Congress.

It is a very popular error that Mr. Calhoun did not take position on this question until the relations between Gen. Jackson and himself had become unfriendly.

As has been before remarked, Mr. Calhoun wrote the

celebrated exposition and protest of South Carolina on the tariff, and it was adopted by the same Legislature that voted for Gen. Jackson.

It was not, indeed, till near two years after Mr. Calhoun had openly avowed his belief that State interposition could alone prove effectual to put an end to the consolidating tendencies of the administration, that unfortunately for the country these two great men were placed in a hostile attitude to each other.

The proof was ample at the time the charge was first made against Mr. Calhoun. Subsequent events have demonstrated, however, beyond cavil, how eminently capable the great Carolinian was of rising above all personalities, in view of the duties he owed to his country. The position then of Mr. Calhoun was well calculated to blind him to the path of duty. He stood on the very pinnacle of popular esteem—second to none in genius, skill in the art of government, or in devotion to his country. Why, sirs, when first he appealed to the great conservative principles embodied in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions against the wrong done his State and the constitution by Congress,

"He might have stood against a world."

He had but to give way to the great current which was sweeping the ship of State upon the shoals of consolidation, and which none were found wise enough or bold enough to resist—he had but to be silent, as was suggested to him, to share largely of the power thus torn from the States. Ambition—every personal consideration, indeed, invited him to pursue the even tenor of his way—but truth, justice and the constitution beckoned him along that higher and more rugged steep, where the voice of duty performed alone could cheer him. And though he has trod the flinty path firmly and cheerfully, and has finally fulfilled Mr. Grosvenor's prediction and reached "a high and happy elevation in view of his country and the world," it has emphatically been at the sacrifice of every personal consideration—whether of ease, of quiet, of friendship, or of hope of personal preferment.

And what task was this which a disappointed and unhallowed ambition sought to effect? Was it an assumption of power? On the contrary, he threw himself, hopeless of aid from any quarter save his own State, in the path of the most powerful administration which ever swayed the destinies of this country. Did he expect aid from the opposition? No!—for his course and aim was to check and to put an end to that system of legislation which had commenced under their auspices, and for the continuance of which all the great monied interests which constituted that party still clamored.

Upon what, then, did he rely for support? Upon a great political truth. Though nowhere but in South Carolina did those great constitutional truths find reverence, which Virginia announced in 1798, and Kentucky proclaimed in 1799—which took such powerful hold on the popular heart as to build up the great Jefferson party in their advocacy—though that party had forgotten the very author of one set of these resolutions, and was gradually falling back upon the principles which caused the overthrow of Federalism in 1800—though when these doctrines of the early days of the republic were exhumed, as it were, from the rubbish which Congressional and Executive usurpation had thrown upon them, they were derided as the abstractions of a metaphysical brain—and as partaking largely of treason, Mr. Calhoun unhesitatingly announced them to be the remedy for the evils under which the country groaned; and unappalled by threats—undeterred by opposition—unawed by the array of every party and every department of government and every other State in the Union, save South Carolina, against his course, he had that day taken his seat in the Senate to advocate them as rightful, and to lend every energy of his soul to the Herculean task of reforming the abuses of the government, and of bringing its administration back to the track of simple duties indicated by the constitution. There he stood stript, for this high purpose, of every thing calculated in the least to interfere with a rigid and effectual perform-

nace of his duty. He had cut himself loose from all party ties—had cast to the winds every aspiration after political preferment—had stopped his ears to the voice of calumny, the threats of power, or the insidious whisperings of flattery, and of revenge—and, never for an instant diverted from his noble purpose, has marched on, and onward, till not only the Tariff act of 1828 was repealed, but the great principle of protection to any particular industry of the country, by a discriminating system of taxes, has been permanently defeated—and the government has been freed from all connexion with the banking institutions of the country—and that great measure of "deliverance and liberty," as it has sometimes been enthusiastically called, the Independent Treasury, has been adopted for the safe-keeping and disbursement of the public revenue.

As I have said, in this great struggle Mr. Calhoun had cut himself loose from party ties. He said in debate in 1834:

"I stand wholly disconnected with the two great parties now contending for ascendancy. My political connections are with that small and denounced party which has voluntarily wholly retired from the party strife of the day, with a view of saving, if possible, the liberty and the constitution of the country in this great crisis of our affairs."

He was found with either, as the acts of either tended to advance his great aim and purpose—the disentangling the government from the "bastard system of federo-republicanism" which a union of the old Federalists and Republicans had entailed upon it, and its return to first principles. In his first great struggle, however, he had to contend with both the great parties. That success triumphantly crowned the gallant efforts of that small band—the State Rights men, conclusively proves the efficiency of their movement—and tends strongly to support its truth. Upon the Bank question, in its various phases, he alternately acted with each party, as the course of each tended to advance the aims he had in view. He opposed the establishment of a National Bank, with the administration. He opposed the Deposit System with the Whigs. It is a pop-

ular error to suppose that Gen. Jackson's was a purely anti-Bank policy. He opposed and eventually defeated a recharter of the United States Bank; but he removed the government deposites and withheld them from that institution to place them in the vaults of the State Banks, with which he established a connection far more deleterious in its consequences than was the connection of the government with the Bank of the United States. When the issue of bank or no bank was attempted to be made, on the removal of the deposites and in its discussion, Mr. Calhoun's keen, analytic intellect detected its fallacy. He said:

"What is the real question which now agitates the country? I answer, it is a struggle between the executive and legislative departments of the government: a struggle not in relation to the existence of a Bank, but which, Congress or the President, should have power to create a Bank and the consequent control over the currency of the country. This is the real question. Let us not deceive ourselves: this league, this association of banks, created by the executive, bound together by his influence, united in common articles of association, vivified and sustained by receiving the deposites of the public money and having their notes converted, by being received every where by the treasury into the common currency of the country, is to all intents and purposes a Bank of the United States—the executive Bank of the United States as distinguished from that of Congress."

"So long as the question is one between a Bank of the United States incorporated by Congress, and that system of Banks which has been created by the will of the Executive, it is an insult to the understanding to discourse on the pernicious tendency and unconstitutionality of the Bank of the United States. To bring up that question fairly and legitimately, you must go one step farther; you must *divorce* the government and the banking system. You must refuse all connection with banks. You must neither receive nor pay away bank notes. You must go back to the old system of the strong box, and of gold and silver."

"There is no other alternative. I repeat, you must divorce the government entirely from the banking system; or if not, you are bound to incorporate a bank as the only safe and efficient means of giving stability and uniformity to the currency. And should the deposites not be restored and the present illegal and unconstitutional connection between the executive and the league of the banks continue, I shall feel it to be my duty, if no one else moves, to introduce a measure to prohibit the government from receiving or touching bank notes in any shape whatever, as the only means left of giving safety and stability to the currency and saving the country from corruption and ruin."

The small State Rights party, then, was the only true anti-bank party in 1834. In accordance with Mr. Calhoun's suggestion, Gen. Gordon, of Virginia, introduced the first Independent Treasury bill into the House of Representatives in 1834. Such, however, was not the policy either of the administration or of the opposition—and the measure had to bide its time. It was then defeated.

In 1837, however, came the great commercial convulsion, which prostrated nearly every bank in the United States. What were left standing were so crippled as to be obliged to suspend specie payments ; and by virtue of the joint resolution of 1816, the connexion of the government with the deposit banks ceased. The great distress thus produced was dexterously turned upon the Democratic party ; and Mr. Van Buren commenced his administration evidently in a minority, both in Congress and among the people of the States. At this juncture the government was, for the first time since its commencement, free to take a fresh start in the narrow and restricted path of the Constitution. Mr. Van Buren had the wisdom to perceive this, and the nerve to take advantage of it. He had that true greatness of soul, too, which enabled him to seize upon Truth wherever he found it, to throw himself and his administration for support even upon a measure of the gifted, though denounced Carolinian. He recommended the Independent Treasury plan—based upon Mr. Calhoun's suggestion, in 1834, of a divorce of the connection between the government and the banking system. True to the great aim of his life, Mr. Calhoun at once rallied to the support of his embittered personal foe—the only man that had ever drawn from him the use of an undignified personal epithet. Truer to principle than to power, he forsook the opposition, with whom, to accomplish his purposes, he had so long acted, just at the moment when their cohorts were gathering for a last successful onslaught on their ancient, divided, distracted and disorganised foes. Bitter—bitter indeed were the curses which they heaped upon the head

of the great Carolinian, when they found that experienced and veteran leader, at the head of that small but efficient band of State Rights men, between them and their prey!

The contest that ensued is without a parallel in the legislative history of our country. Every weapon of parliamentary warfare was used to crush Mr. Calhoun, and to destroy the immense moral force of his position. His consistency was assailed—his whole political career was searched, with a keenness of vision which only political hate can give, for the purpose of finding material with which to lessen him in public estimation; and one bold, impetuous leader was rash enough to insinuate that Time must reveal the motives of his course. I cannot forbear to give his reply—

"But in so premeditated and indiscriminate an attack, it could not be expected that my motives would entirely escape, and we accordingly find the Senator from Kentucky very charitably leaving it to time to disclose my motive for going over! I, who have changed no opinion, abandoned no principle, and deserted no party; I, who have stood still and maintained my ground against every difficulty, to be told that it is left to time to disclose my motive! The imputation sinks to the earth, with the groundless charge on which it rests. I stamp it with scorn, in the dust. I pick up the dart, which fell harmless at my feet. I hurl it back. What the Senator charges on me, *he has actually done.* He went over on a memorable occasion, and did not leave it to time to disclose his motive."

To those familiar with the history of these two great statesman—the characteristics which distinguish them—and the style and manner of Mr. Calhoun in debate, the above retort will be considered as one of the finest instances, in our parliamentary debates, of lofty, indignant, and crushing invective.

The expression of astonishment—of a lofty and virtuous indignation, at such an imputation. The vehement, sententious, complete vindication, as he points in triumph and scorn to the spent dart which lay, fallen at his feet—the sudden change from a posture of defence to active hostility—the terrible home thrust given to his adversary with his own weapon, as if scorning to use upon him his own good blade—the compressed energy and earnestness of the

whole paragraph—all cause the reader to feel that, short as was the passage at arms, it could not have been more triumphant on the part of the Carolina Senator.

But, tempting as is the theme, I dare not revive the personal contests of those times. Much, doubtless, was said which an after judgment condemned—all attributable to the extraordinary position into which unexpected events threw the men and parties of that day. Had Mr. Calhoun been a partizan during his Senatorial career, he must have gone down under the repeated and terrible charges which were made against him by men whose superiors in such warfare—both as to skill and power—have been found in no legislative body in this or any other country. His safety lay in the well-tempered armor of principle with which he fought those battles; and in the striking fact that when he entered the Senate he announced in debate on the first fit opportunity—when finding himself acting with the Whigs on the Deposit question—that "he stood disconnected with both the great parties"—with the view, if possible, of saving the constitution of the country. When he moved the specie clause to the Independent Treasury bill in 1837, which drew upon him the whole weight of the Whigs and Conservatives, he again said:

"I change no relation—personal or political, nor alter any opinion I have heretofore expressed or entertained. I desire nothing from the government or the people. My only ambition is to do my duty, and I shall follow wherever that may lead, regardless alike of all attachments or antipathies, personal or political. * * * My course is fixed. I go forward—not stopping to estimate whether the benefit is to enure to the administration or opposition."

There lay the secret charm which made him invincible—and gives a lesson of inestimable value to the young statesmen, who are entering upon a public career. The standard by which his opponents sought to try him was a party standard: they acknowledged no other—possessed no other. He denied their jurisdiction; and in turn tried them by the only standard which he acknowledged, and to which they were alike amenable—that of the Constitution. They were constantly struggling to perfect and pre-

serve that party organization, by which they sought to obtain possession of the government, while he was as constantly endeavoring to make all their measures conform to the Constitution, regardless alike of "attachments and antipathies, personal or political." It is an undeniable and most gratifying fact, however, that though laboring under such apparent disadvantages—having no great party in whose sympathies to enshrine himself during these terrible ordeals—though his opponents were the leaders of the two great parties into which the country was divided—though the press every where, out of his own State, including the great centre of political information and feeling—Washington, was in the service of those parties, the intellect of the whole country did homage to his genius, and the great popular heart beat in sympathy with the morale of his position. In no other instance in our country, has any statesman ever maintained himself, in conflict with these great odds.

It is an interesting inquiry—What constituted that power which enabled Mr. Calhoun to bear up against all odds—whether of numbers or of intellect—or of political knowledge and parliamentary skill? In what did the temper of that armor consist, which was impenetrable to lance, whether of Whig, of Democrat, or Conservative? It was a principle to which in every age and clime the philosopher and the heathen, virtue and vice have rendered homage—a severe, stern self-sacrifice in pursuit of what he deemed to be the good of his country.

Possessed of a genius, to which was given the tribute of universal admiration—of a practical, administrative ability, which was stamped indelibly upon the records of Mr. Monroe's administration, and which has furnished models for the government of the War Department since—of that stern integrity, which has passed unimpeached through the fiery ordeal of forty years political strife—of a simplicity and truth and grandeur of character, before which Whig, Democrat and Abolitionist have bowed in sincere homage—with such a combination of qualities, so well

calculated to enshrine him in the affections of the people and to advance whatever personal aspiration he might laudably indulge in, he yet turned from the inviting path of power and preferment—to use his own language—"to save, if possible, the liberty and constitution of the country." He was, in truth, the Guardian Genius of Constitutional Liberty; and however well any other may be considered as entitled to be styled the "Expounder of the Constitution," Mr. Calhoun was alone pre-eminently, and at all times and in every temptation, the Defender of the Constitution: and so will his name be enrolled, when the history of that noble chart of Liberty shall be written.

Perhaps the time has come when events are not unpropitious to an acknowledgment by the Democratic party of its indebtedness to the great State Rights leader.

How stood that party on the 4th of July, 1840—the day on which the Independent Treasury bill became a law? Certainly upon an eminence upon which any party might be proud to stand. It had triumphed upon a simple truth, after an ordeal of four years' opposition, in whose sirocco blasts it would have withered, if that principle had not been deeply rooted in the Constitution. From a minority, produced by a dissolution of that splendid, triumphant and devoted majority which had sustained Gen. Jackson during the eight years of his stormy administration, it had struggled upwards, in the teeth of greater pecuniary distress than ever before had afflicted the country—in the face of the fact that much of this was attributable to the State Bank policy of its predecessor; and though assailed by the combined forces of the Whig and Conservative parties—and at times borne backwards in defeat, it had finally triumphed upon a truth it had once rejected—the divorce of Bank and State. It is true that, in the succeeding election, its personal representative was defeated; but its great principles were not assailed in the popular trial: and no sooner had the congressional majority, which had swept in on the Presidential wave in 1840, repealed the Independent Treasury law and the Tariff

Compromise act of 1833—and thus submitted those measures again to the people, than an overwhelming majority, in their favor, was returned at the next elections—the Independent Treasury law was re-established and the Tariff of 1846 was enacted over that of 1842, upon the principles of free-trade.

It may be considered then that on the 4th of July, 1840, the Democratic party had disentangled the government from all Bank connexion, and from the Protective principle, and was, in fact, the legitimate representative of the old republican party of 1798. It is another interesting inquiry—Had it become so by a process of self-purgation and discipline?

That party had its origin in the division into which the great republican party, demoralised by long possession of power and a large infusion of the old federal leaders into its ranks, had broken in 1824. This division did not take place on any great difference as to principle, but chiefly on account of the exciting personal contests of its leaders for pre-eminence and place. What has since assumed the name of the Democratic party, led off under the auspices of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, who defeated its rival wing in 1828. Mr. Calhoun had attached himself to that wing in the hopes of influencing it to resist the tide of congressional usurpation then setting strongly against the rights of the States, in both the collection and disbursement of the public revenue. The first efforts made to bring back the government to first principles, were by Mr. Calhoun in his ineffectual resistance to the enactment of the Tariff of 1828, and his appeal to the principles of 1798, as a remedy against the unconstitutional usurpation. Strange as it may appear, the origin of that measure was in the desire of Gen. Jackson's friends, from the tariff States, to secure his election by thus offering a bonus for their support. Gen. Jackson, himself, when elected, declared the principle sound, and that it was the duty of Congress to exercise it.

The next step in the right direction was taken by Gen.

Jackson, and maintained with a power and brilliancy which probably no other man in the nation was competent to exercise against such fearful odds--I allude to his attack and triumph over the Bank of the United States.

But bold as was that move, it lacked the grandeur which would have invested it, had it been based upon some vital constitutional principle. With Gen. Jackson it was simply a gigantic contest—a brilliant triumph, personal, if I might so speak, between himself and the Bank. I know that this will be considered by many a bold judgment to pass upon that great movement; but it is just. In giving it character, we must not confound with it Mr. Van Buren's after struggle with the friends of the Bank on the Independent Treasury principle, which Gen. Jackson at first opposed, but which, it is but just to say, he afterwards heartily approved. Neither must we look alone to the alledged grounds of the attack. We must look upon it in the light of Gen. Jackson's course during and after the great struggle had ended in his success. and in the direction he sought to give to the government when freed from all connection with the Bank of the United States. In doing so, we will find that Gen. Jackson recommended legislation, based on the principle which had brought the Bank of the United States itself into being—the necessity of Banks to the safe-keeping and disbursement of the revenue, and hence the adoption by his administration of the State Bank system. It proved to be but a transfer of government funds from the vaults of one Bank to those of several. To Mr. Calhoun is due the conception of the idea, and the return of the government to first principles—"to the old system of the strong box, and of gold and silver."

Gen. Jackson crushed during his administration the Internal Improvement system. His administration, in fact, was remarkable for its vigor—the intensity and extent of its popularity, and its striking inconsistencies—inconsistencies arising from its very attempts to disenthrall the government from that bastard system of federo-republicanism into which the politicians of the country had been sinking

it for a series of years, and from the farther fact that these attempts were confined alone to the striking down some of the great evidences of the existence of the evil which it nourished in its bosom. It admitted the right of Congress to protect manufacturing industry in the collection of revenue, but denied the right to encourage commercial industry in its expenditure.

It denied the right to lend the credit of government to a Bank of the United States, but admitted the right to lend its funds to a league of State Banks.

In fine, it lopped off two great branches, but left the main trunk, of the tree of American system to flourish and to send forth new shoots.

Mr. Van Buren succeeded to the administration. He had barely taken the oath of office, when, in the great commercial crash of 1837, the Banks went by the board by hundreds. The opposition, led by men of storied names, strong in unity of purpose and of interest, and stronger still in the universal distress pervading the whole country, made a fierce onset upon the ranks of the Democracy—at once disorganised and demoralised by the fearfulness of the crisis and the apparent fulfilment of every evil prophecy uttered against their course on the Bank question by their foes. The head of the Republican column was crushed beneath its force. Its ranks were thinned not only by individual desertion, including men high in its confidence, but by the defection of whole States, who either joined the exultant Whigs or organised as Conservatives. Whatever else may be said in reference to Mr. Van Buren, no one, at all familiar with his course on this occasion, can refrain from awarding to him the genius to mark out, and the courage to pursue, the only course which could have saved his administration and the country. He relied upon that noble truth, rejected with his own concurrence by Gen. Jackson in the height of his power, the divorce of Bank and State—the conception of his great personal adversary, Mr. Calhoun; and he fearlessly and wisely placed the success of his administration upon it. Conquering the deepest

prejudices—tearing from his vision the veil of personal antipathy—looking calmly and clearly at the true interests of his country, that great man at once took his stand beside the administration, becoming its support, its hope, and eventually its preserver.

I appeal, then, to the truth of history—aye! I will dare appeal to the candor of the present hour, to sustain me in the assertion, that if the Democratic party owes its rise, power and glory to the great principles of free trade, low duties, an economical administration of the government, and a divorce of Bank and State—it owes it all to John C. Calhoun; that he has been its guardian genius, whether battling for it, against its own prejudices and errors—or leading it to victory and honor, apparently against fearful odds, under the tattered but glorious old banner of State Rights!

Mr. Calhoun may well contest with Mr. Jefferson the title of being the "Apostle of Republicanism." He was more intellectual than Jefferson, and as pure as Washington. He combined brilliant genius with that simplicity, truth and classic grandeur of character with which our imaginations would invest one who bears so honored a distinction.

There was a marked difference in the manner in which the two effected their purposes. The one brought to bear in their aid the combined intellect of the whole country by private correspondence—infusing the sublime truths of his political creed into the able men of the country—for he never understook to speak.

The other wrote but little—and making no calculations as to the opinions of others fearlessly announced the great principles of his action, relying entirely upon his own exhaustless resources and the mighty power of the truth he advocated.

The former had the advantage of acting his part in the early days of the republic, when the constitution was fresh from the hands of its framers, before government had become set in any particular path. The latter began his contest after the channels of policy against which he strug-

gled had been worn deep by an uninterrupted tide of legislation, for a quarter of a century.

Mr. Jefferson had the advantage of contending with open and avowed federalism. Mr. Calhoun struggled with federalism in disguise—assuming the cloak of Republicanism to cover a heart of consolidation.

The former asserted doctrines, while the voices of the framers of the constitution were yet to be heard in the land, strengthening his policy—confirming his opinion. The latter upheld them when the very name of the author of their most celebrated exposition had been forgotten—when, as he disinterred them from the rubbish of the past, they were branded as the abstractions of his own brain.

Mr. Jefferson proclaimed them when there were but half a dozen banks, and no great organised American system of varied interests to array themselves against him.

Mr. Calhoun wrestled for their ascendancy with a thousand-leagued monied corporations, whose long and wiry arms wound around the people and their government—binding both to their altars; and when the craving appetites of manufacturing capitalists and of local demands for internal improvements enlisted most public men in their support.

It is true, Mr. Jefferson had to contend with such men as Hamilton and Adams—but Mr. Calhoun was opposed at all points by such men as Clay and Webster, and at others by Jackson—men, who, in ability, power and influence were inferior to none that ever acted a part in American affairs.

In the days of Mr. Jefferson, Federalism openly attacked the constitutional liberty of the individual citizen—producing such intense, popular indignation that the public ear was greedily opened to, and the public mind easily convinced by, the simple yet bold truths which promised an effectual remedy.

The march of aggression, in the times of Mr. Calhoun, was stealthy, though not the less destructive—was directed against the States, and acting indirectly only upon

individuals, was not calculated to arouse the public to the imminency of the danger.

Mr. Jefferson's task was but a lucid exposition of constitutional truths, the application of which to the administration was superseded by the contest into which the government was shortly after plunged with the belligerent powers of Europe.

Mr. Calhoun revived and practically applied them to the affairs of government, changing the course and character of Congressional legislation in the very face of the counter principles of one great party, and in opposition to the prejudices and errors of another.

Mr. Jefferson was a part of the age which gave birth to the Constitution—was deeply imbued with its spirit and principles. Mr. Calhoun had to throw off the erroneous habits of thinking common to his time—to work through the precedents of a quarter of a century's legislation—to discard venerable and most persuasive authority—to exercise an intellectual independence, rarely given to man, before he could bathe in the fountain head of constitutional liberty, and wash himself free of the political impurities common to the statesmen of his age.

I repeat, then, that Mr. Calhoun may well contest with Mr. Jefferson the title to be considered "the Apostle of Republicanism."

Upon one great question, which in intensity and importance overrides all others, Mr. Calhoun has been, without doubt, the most sagacious, fearless and vigilant champion who ever advocated the cause of the South—I allude to the slavery question. Long before the danger became apparent—aye! long before the sleeping fanatic had dreamed that he would become our assailant in the halls of Congress, Mr. Calhoun predicted the assaults that have been made upon us. In February, 1833, in his speech on the Force bill, alluding to the vast power claimed for the Federal government, by the advocates of that measure, to determine the extent of its own powers and to enforce them with the bayonet, he predicted that the spirit of Abo-

litionism, then dormant, would be aroused—that it would infect the whole North—who, controlling the powers of the government, would feel responsible for the longer continuance of an institution which they possessed the means to overthrow—that, although at that time there existed no hostile feelings, combined with political considerations, in any section, connected with this delicate subject, it required no stretch of the imagination to see the dangers which must one day come, if the subject was not vigilantly watched. "Unless this doctrine be opposed by united and firm resistance, its ultimate effect will be to drive the white population from the Southern Atlantic States." The time, however, was at hand when "hostile feelings combined with political considerations" induced a distinct and separate organization of the abolitionists. They established a press, and in 1835 commenced to flood the South with incendiary publications, through the United States mail. Gen. Jackson, from the most patriotic considerations, recommended Congress to pass a law prohibiting their circulation through the mail. Mr. Calhoun's powerful analytic intellect enabled him at once to perceive that the exercise of such a power by Congress would be dangerous in principle. Grant to that body the right to judge what is incendiary, and it follows that it has also the right to say what is not incendiary—and thus would the South, in this particular, be at the mercy of the discretion of Congress. He had the subject referred, and made a report claiming that the States had the right to protect their property, and to decide what was and what was not injurious to it—and that it was the duty of Congress to prevent the passage through the mail of any matter prohibited by the States on that ground. The distinction drawn, though nice, was palpable and important.

The great aim of the abolitionists, however, was to gain a foothold in Congress – to use that body as a fulcrum for the great lever of anti-slavery agitation. To this end they flooded Congress with petitions. As little disposed as Northern statesmen then were to annoy the South on this

subject, they yet hesitated to bring themselves into conflict with the anti-slavery feeling of the North, by taking any decided ground against the prayer of the petitioners.

The great bane of the South on this issue has been that its public men, generally, connected intimately with the great parties of the day—whose ramifications extended through all parts of the country, have endeavored to conform their action upon the slavery question to the interests of the parties to which they respectively belonged. Such was the disposition actuating them at the time referred to—and willing to yield a little, in order to preserve their Northern friends untrammelled, a pretty general understanding had taken place, that the petitions should be received, but neither be referred nor acted upon. Mr. Calhoun's far seeing intellect, however, saw all the dangers arising from admitting jurisdiction in the Senate, even to that limited extent. Fortunately for the South, he has never had party ties calculated to blind him to his duty or to deter him from pursuing it. His mind, too, at all times rigid and uncompromising, on that vital question rejected all temporary expedients. The right of petitioning, he contended, was merely the right of presenting a petition, personal to the petitioner. When presented, it was the right of Congress to receive or to reject it. And, in this instance, as Congress could exercise no jurisdiction on the subject matter of the petition, it was its duty not to receive it. He said:

"If there must be an issue, now is our time. We never can be more united or better prepared for the struggle; and I, for one, would much rather meet the danger now than to turn it over to those who are to come after us."

"We are about to take the first step; that must control all our subsequent movements. If it should be such, as I fear it will—if we receive this petition, and thereby establish the principle, that we shall be obliged to receive all such petitions—if we shall be determined to take permanent jurisdiction over the subject of abolition, whenever and in whatever manner the abolitionists may ask, either here or in the States, I fear that the consequences will be ultimately disastrous. Such a course would destroy the confidence of the slaveholding States in their government. We love and cherish the Union: we remember with the kindest feelings our common origin, with pride our common achievements: and fondly-

anticipate the common greatness and glory that seem to await us; but origin, achievements and anticipations of coming greatness are to us as nothing compared to this question."

"If I feel alarm, it is not for ourselves, but for the Union and the institutions of the country, to which I have ever been devotedly attached, however calumniated and slandered. Few have made greater sacrifices to maintain them, and none is more anxious to perpetuate them to the latest generation; but they can, and ought to be perpetuated only on the condition that they fulfill the great object for which they were created—the liberty and protection of these States."

After a rapid but striking delineation of the power of the South to protect her liberties, he thus concluded:

"With these impressions, I ask neither sympathy nor compassion for the slaveholding States. We can take care of ourselves. It is not we, but the Union, which is in danger. It is that which demands our care—demands that the agitation of this question shall cease *here*—that you shall refuse to receive these petitions and decline all jurisdiction over the subject of abolition in every form and shape. It is only on these terms that the Union can be safe."

As usual with Mr. Calhoun, and perhaps his habit in this particular was unfortunate for the country, he had conferred with no one as to the course he had marked out. Determining in his own mind, on principles of justice and of the constitution, what was right, he pursued the path pointed out, relying alone for support on the intrinsic merit of his course and his own mighty and inexhaustible mental resources. Though speaking against a preconcerted course of action, so forcible, clear, far-reaching, were his views and reasoning, that his motion not to receive was carried: and from that day until the very week of his death it has been the invariable practice of the Senate not to receive these petitions. It seems as if when the sun of his intellect had set, that darkness at once covered and brooded over the constitutional rights of the South.

Upon this question, Mr. Calhoun was uncompromising. When meeting it at the very threshold, he warned the South of the fatal effects of compromising a question of such a character. Said he:

"I do not belong to the school which holds that aggression is to be met with concession. In this case, in particular, I hold concession or

compromise to be fatal. If we concede an inch, concession will follow concession, compromise would follow compromise, until our ranks be so broken that effectual resistance would be impossible."

With an intellectual keenness of vision which gave him almost the gift of prophecy, and which neither personal nor party interests could cloud, he watched every phase of the question as it arose—by his searching powers of analysis laid bare its profoundest depths—traced the bearing of the principle involved, and, with a comprehensive view of all surrounding circumstances, made up his opinions as to the future as well as the present, and acted with reference to both. He has never ceased to urge union among ourselves for the sake of the Union. He early announced that the greatest danger was to the Union.

When the votaries of abolition were being pelted in indignation from the rostrums in the cities of the North, and this fact was pointed to as conclusive of our safety by men who cried out to their fellows—"all is well," his far-reaching intellect, analyzing the subject to its profoundest depths, taught him that they would yet take possession of the pulpit, the schools, and the press of the North—that they would yet have power to array the citizens of each section against each other in deadly feud. When first the fanatics approached the halls of Congress, he proclaimed to the South—

"It rests with ourselves to meet and repel them. If we do not defend ourselves, none will defend us. If we yield, we will be more and more pressed as we recede. If we submit, we will be trampled under foot."

"All we want is concert—to lay aside all party differences, and unite with zeal and energy in repelling approaching dangers. Let there be concert of action, and we shall find ample means of security without resorting to secession or disunion."

Such was his language and advice in 1836, uttered with that sententious energy—with that moral and mental power, that seemed calculated to drive the invaluable truth home to the heart of the South. Such he continued to re-iterate to his infatuated countrymen, upon every renewal of these attacks upon their liberties. His approval of the proposition to hold the late Southern Convention, was given in

the same lofty spirit of devotion to the Union and to the South—he approved of it as the only thing "that holds out the promise of saving both ourselves and the Union." Mr. Calhoun's prophetic warnings in 1836 were unheeded. We have conceded and compromised until now, in 1850, when aroused in some degree to the imminency of the crisis, it is a serious question, whether, in the language of Mr. Calhoun's prediction, "our ranks are not so broken that effectual resistance will be impossible."

It may be a mournful truth that the South has awakened in time only to acknowledge how much truer than all her great sons John C. Calhoun has been to her—only to embalm in the amber of her adversity the wisdom of his policy—the fearless and noble disinterestedness with which he ever exhorted her to crush the golden idol of party which had been reared in her midst—and to rush to the rescue of her endangered liberties. Reflection and observation taught him that if the South would exercise a proper degree of restraining power and influence in the government, she should keep herself aloof from all party connection. It must be so with every minority. If it joins party, it becomes absorbed at once—loses its individuality—surrenders its right to act in its defence purely on its own judgment; and has to abide the decrees of its party. That party having other aims, will pursue them, and will make its principles square to the success of its organization. Hence, alone of all our great men, holding aloft—high above every party rule and interest, the great interests of the South—seeing the fatal result of relying on a party for our defence—a policy, which, if adopted, would inevitably and necessarily divide the South in proportion as parties are divided, Mr. Calhoun has for years raised his voice to break, if possible, the charm of party ascendancy among his countrymen.

These views, however, have been denounced by the leaders of party, every where: they may be said to have ever been in constant conflict with Mr. Calhoun, in consequence of them. His opinions, through congressional speeches and by means of the controlling influence of party

leaders over the press—have been much misrepresented to the people, and their judgment upon them has, of course, been clouded with prejudice. This spirit has followed him even to the verge of the grave; and that last noble effort in behalf of the Constitution and the South, so well calculated to sink deep into the hearts of his countrymen, was instantly sought to be distorted and discolored by those whose personal views were likely to be disturbed by its influences.

Much of the benefit of Mr. Calhoun's immense exertions and devoted self-sacrifice has been lost to the South, in whose cause they were made, in consequence of this suicidal and unhappy jealousy of his influence, entertained by those party leaders in the South who held access to the ear of the people. One of the great elements of power which they have used to effect their purpose, has been that love of the Union, natural to a brave and loyal people. From the moment he raised the flag of 1798, and took his stand against the unconstitutional usurpation of power by Congress, down to the last effort made by him in behalf of the rights of the States and their perfect equality in the Union, he has been pursued with the cry of "disunion." It originated with the North, but has been largely taken up even here at the South. A more dexterous play upon the affections of a people, for the purpose of keeping them quiet under the hand of their oppressor, never was devised.

The Union, as designated by the Constitution—as formed by the sages and heroes who advocated and maintained the great fundamental rights of the people, and so wisely gave them the basis of a happy perpetuity, is cherished in the hearts core of all our citizens. So great has been its benefits—so happy has been its influence—so high and far blazes the light from the noble altar of our liberties upon the struggling masses of our fellow men in other nations, that we have been accustomed to look upon the Union with the deepest reverence. In the South this feeling amongst the masses is more deep and abiding, partaking

more of the character of a religious sentiment, than in any other section of the country. With them, it is a sentiment hallowing its object—purifying and raising it above all mere selfish considerations, either of gain or power. The South never has counted its value with reference to its effect upon her pecuniary condition. Securing to the people of the several States a position of dignified equality in the Confederacy—not trenching upon their internal government of their own domestic affairs, the people of the Southern States are well content to bide with their brethren of the Northern States, such results as may flow from the wisdom of State legislation, and from the enterprise and energy of the respective inhabitants of the States.

It is an historical fact, that, when any right, which it is the province of the Union to protect, has been invaded by a foreign power, the South has not been backward in the cabinet to urge an ample redress of the wrong, nor a lagard in the field when the stars and the stripes have been flung to the breeze to secure redress and to punish the aggressor; not counting upon what quarter the aggression was made, nor upon whom the greatest amount of suffering would fall. When England impressed American seamen—searched American ships, and oppressed, by her exactions, American commerce, it was sufficient to the South that all were American; and though she had not a seaman to be impressed—nor a ship to be searched—nor a carrying trade to be injured, her's was the first and firmest voice heard at the council board advising an immediate appeal to arms: and when we had crossed swords with the foe, her sons and her treasure were willingly and freely given to the common cause. Common, did I say? Aye—the cause was indeed common; but not so the exertions made to maintain it: for while the South strained every nerve to support, what in that cause was dear to her—far dearer than commerce or even the lives of her citizens, the honor of the Union; to use the language of a distinguished Pennsylvanian—"the North, as States, with splendid exceptions, protested against firing a gun;" and, I will add,

crippled her country, in the fierce struggle, by her selfish and unpatriotic course.

This noble and unselfish sentiment was well calculated, if not perverted, to perpetuate the Union in all its original purity. It was a sensitive popular standard, by which every public man and public measure might have been judged, and approved or condemned, as they really tended to advance or to protect the objects for which it was formed. If the public men who had obtained the confidence of the people and the lead in public affairs had been true to them, the glorious stars which exist in the sky of the Union would have been moving, at this day, harmoniously in their several spheres. But it is a fact which truth requires should be uttered, and which will be written in letters of living light whenever the history of this Union shall be impartially written, that the public men of the South, with but few exceptions, have not, in this particular, been true, either to the people, to the States, or to the Union; and the cause will be found in that all-absorbing devotion which they have rendered to party schemes. The immense patronage of the General Government, (its offices affording much greater emolument and a far wider field for the acquisition of either civil or military distinction, than do those of the several States,) has drawn from their service their ablest men. Those who have entered the political world have engaged, through means of the great parties, in a systematic struggle for the high honors and offices of the government. The tendency of all this has been, that in proportion, as the honors of the federal have exceeded in attraction those of the State government, our public men, generally, have lost their regard for the rights of the latter, and have devoted all their energies to the success of that party organization by which they hope to control the administration of that of the former. The records of the political history of both the great parties, which have at times administered the government, show resolves unanimously adopted, and almost as unanimously abandoned, whenever their application tended to break up

the organization of either of those bodies. What matters it to them if the States lose their original importance in the Union, if their own importance is proportionably increased!

To these men—men of ability—legislative experience, and tact in maintaining a great influence over the popular mind, the people of the States necessarily look for a proper administration of the General Government.

By means of parliamentary movements—speeches in Congress—the press, almost exclusively within their control—and those thousand arts so well known to the skillful partisan, the cry goes forth to the people, that "all is well;" while, at the same time, it is an undeniable fact that encroachment after encroachment has been made upon the rights of the States—rights that must be retained in their original vigor, if the Union is to be perpetuated in the spirit and on the principles on which it was formed. Whenever any one has entered the public councils, who dared to disturb the smooth tenor of this state of things, and to expose to the people the schemes by which they have been so long deceived, and by which the Union is being slowly, though surely, consolidated and destroyed, is it not true that his public career has proven to be a short one, and that he has been hunted down as a factionist or as an enemy to the Union? Few public men, no matter how vigorous have been their characters, have been able to stand up against such a fearful array of opposition. Those few that have done so are indebted to the fact that they have been content to represent a Congressional district—in which having personal access to the ear of the people, they have been enabled to counteract all extraneous opposition. Mr. Calhoun alone of all our public men, who have placed themselves in opposition to this spirit of party, has been able to attain any thing like a national position, or a national influence. He withstood the combined and concentrated fire of both the great parties; and against him has been brought to bear, with more determined energy than against any other man, all the prejudices which the

cry of disunion could raise. No sooner had he disavowed allegiance to party and put on the armor of State Rights to resist the unconstitutional acts of Congress, than the monstrous, and now in the South, at least, universally condemned doctrines of the proclamation found their way to the ear of the people, sanctified and stript of all federal odium by the cry that the union was assailed. In the name of the Union, Mr. Webster justified the consolidating tendencies of the government and advocated the force bill. In the name of the Union, powers were claimed by, and yielded to, the government, which, when the excitement passed away, their advocates in the South promptly repudiated. In the name of the Union, the noble declaration of constitutional truths embodied in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and which called the Republicans of 1800 into power, were made to appear but rank treason in the eyes of their Republican successors in 1833: and he who was the truest friend of the South—aye, and of the constitution—her unappalled champion through all that terrible storm of popular indignation which beat so mercilessly on his devoted head, was termed a Cataline, while Webster was applauded as a Cicero. Yet, throughout the whole of that great controversy, no heart beat more warmly for the Union—for that Union whose palladium was the constitution, than did that of John C. Calhoun. He was the only great statesman of that day who appreciated its true beauty and worth. It was that high appreciation which made any infraction of its provisions appear to him of such great moment. It was that appreciation which caused him to cut loose from that triumphant party in which he stood so high, and to commence a career in which ease and preferment must necessarily be sacrificed, and a constant and embittered warfare against power and prejudice as inevitably be the result. He believed that the constitution was fast being undermined—he struggled to re-instate it in its pristine vigor and supremacy over the Congress and the Executive. It has been, in fact, a great struggle for the last twenty-five years between the consti-

tution and the law-making power, in which he sided with the former. The plans and the remedies he proposed were not new. He contended that they existed in the very nature of the compact between the States, of which the constitution was the bond and the evidence ; and that the apostle of Republicanism and the great party which supported him had endorsed them ; and he relied upon them to bring back the government to the constitutional track.

If John C. Calhoun and South Carolina plotted treason to the Union in 1833, it follows as inevitably as effect follows cause, that Jefferson and Madison—Virginia and Kentucky advocated treason and disunion in 1798 and 1799.

These charges of treason and disunion followed Mr. Calhoun through life ; utterred with more or less vigor as party exigencies required. Upon the very verge of the grave, the deeply wronged statesman paused to vindicate himself from the calumny. I quote from his memorable reply to Mr. Foote :

"Now, sir, as to the question of disunion. I talk very little about whether I am a union man, or not; because I put no confidence in professions. I leave it to my acts to determine whether I am a union man, or not. Sir, I challenge comparison with any man here—I challenge a comparison, by the Senator from Mississippi. I appeal to him, if there is any man, who has ever abstained more carefully from what he believed to be a violation of the Constitution ; or who has ever been more forward to arrest all infractions of the Constitution. It is in vain for a man to say that he loves the Union, if he does not protect the Constitution; for that is the bond that made the Union. If I am to be judged by my acts, I trust I shall be found to be as firm a friend of the Union, as any man within it."

This was the occasion, when uttering his defence against this calumny, as it were *in articulo mortis*, when memory, doubtless, by its magic power arrayed before him the many instances in which his attempts to serve his country had been disingenuously distorted into disloyalty to her institutions, by some selfish partizan whose schemes of personal aggrandizement were disturbed by them, that addressing the Senate, in all the grandeur and stern simplicity of indignant Truth, he appeared to all, as

Mr. Webster has testified—"a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived."

Submit Mr. Calhoun and all his great compeers, to the test of this simple and undeniably just rule of evidence, and his statue will at once be accorded a place in the Temple of Patriotism by the side of those of Washington and Jefferson; while those of many, which have been placed there on account of the bold utterance of some beautiful eulogy on the Union, will be ejected to make way for those of others whom they have aided to proscribe.

True, Mr. Calhoun was an avowed, uncompromising, and ever vigilant foe to any government which might be built up on the frame of the Union, whose vitality and virtue had been destroyed by consolidation: and it would never have deterred him from seeking its destruction, that it had robed itself in the forms of constitutional law, stolen from the temple which it had desecrated. So was he a patriot, whose name should never be permitted to die, who, when Moscow fell beneath the prowess of Napoleon and gave needed shelter to his countless legions, fired her domes and her palaces—made the magnificent capitol of that empire but a smoldering mass of embers, and drove forth the ruthless invader upon the invisible but piercing bayonets of Icy Winter, more terribly fatal than an 'army with banners.'

The character of no other public man in the United States, has been subjected to the test of such severe ordeals, as has that of Mr. Calhoun. Burr—a man of the most brilliant genius—varied acquirements and great popularity—wise in council, eloquent in debate, and firm in purpose, was crushed beneath the displeasure of Mr. Jefferson and one act of bad faith to his party. Gen. Jackson was a far more powerful man than the philosophic statesman of 1800—stronger, whether considered with reference to the extent and intensity of his popularity—the power of his will—the antagonism of his nature—or the devotion of his party to his purposes. Yet Mr. Calhoun not only

stood unappalled and erect against the tremendous force of Gen. Jackson's popularity, aided by an alliance with the entire opposition—not only came forth unscathed from the odium which had been almost universally excited against him; but as if to stamp, in the most signal manner, the vitality of his own high nature, at a memorable period in the history of both parties he rescued from inevitable destruction his defeated, though not despairing, foe, whom even the old hero of the Hermitage was impotent to save; and rolled back the exultant cohorts of the opposition that had rallied to, what they had fondly anticipated, an easy victory.

Mr. Calhoun's official connection with the annexation of Texas to the United States grew out of his devotion to the South. He has since publicly announced that he consented to take the post of Secretary of State, solely from a sense of duty to the South.

The rise of the Texan Republic, complete in all the powers and proportions of a well regulated government—Minerva like springing into being, fully armed, from the cleft head of the Mexican nation, was an event of importance; but her peaceable and voluntary annexation to the Confederacy of the United States, by the solemnly given assent of her citizens, is certainly one of the most striking events in history. That annexation, or the complete independence of Texas, was to the South a matter of the first importance. Once rejected in her overtures to the United States, the authorities of the young republic coquetted with the cabinet of St. James to such an extent, as to arouse our government and people to the great risk of Texas becoming a dependant of Great Britain, and of that great power thus obtaining a strong position on our most exposed frontier. Public opinion, with singular unanimity, pointed to Mr. Calhoun as the statesman best calculated to conduct the difficult and delicate negociation; and Mr. Tyler accordingly tendered to him the office of Secretary of State. The successful termination of the negociation has been attributed to Mr. Calhoun, not by his

friends merely, but by the greatest and most vigorous opponents of the measure. Texas is a witness of the fact. He was the chief actor in this extraordinary event—the quiet, voluntary union of two peaceful governments, for the better preservation of the liberties of each. Fit it was, in all respects, that this splendid deed—this union of two sovereignties, by solemn compact submitted to each—dependent upon each for validity, should have been consummated under the auspices of the brilliant State Rights statesman—that it should have been his destiny to have been chiefly instrumental, not only in adding another to the data by which ours is proven to be a Union of sovereign States, but also in introducing into the confederacy another State, which, ranging herself along side of her sister States, should bring all her power to bear in defence of the constitutional rights of the South.

Connected with this event was another of very great importance in its bearing upon the slavery question. I allude to the Mexican war. Mr. Calhoun threw the whole weight of his influence against a precipitate declaration of war with this republic. He distinguished between a state of hostilities existing between the troops of the commanders of either nation on a distant frontier and an authorised war between the two governments. He asked for time, that if possible war might be avoided by a disavowal by the Mexican authorities of the acts of their General; and in the meantime was willing to give all necessary aid to protect our frontier from further insult. Fresh as the recollections of all are as to the overwhelming tide of popular opinion in favor of war, which pressed upon Congress with such great force, it must be conceded that Mr. Calhoun, in the stern and unpopular position taken by him in opposition to the course taken, exhibited a grandeur of will and purpose which excited the highest admiration. When he sat down after delivering his views, so earnest—so truthful—so eloquent and thoroughly patriotic were they—so divested of any thing like faction—so deeply imbued with the loftiest sentiments—so elevated and courageous was his

bearing—so full of the moral sublime, in fact, was the great statesman, that a distinguished political antagonist then in the lobby of the Senate, observed : "If ever there was an unflinching patriot, who cared more for his country than himself, that man is John C. Calhoun." It was indeed so. Mr. Calhoun saw coming events casting their dark shadows before. He dreaded a war with Mexico from the acqusition of territory that would inevitably follow. He well knew—knew better than any other statesman of the day—that the temper of the Northern mind was unfit to legislate, in reference to such acquisitions, in justice to the South.

The evils which he foresaw are upon us, even now, in all their terrible nature. The apple of discord has been thrown into our midst to add to the already existing hostility between the North and the South. It has served to concentrate all the elements of Northern aggression, and now overshadows every other question—for the first time arousing the South in some considerable degree from its criminal apathy—for the first time, in some degree, awakening it to the mournful fact that party has been the Delilah in whose lap she has been lulled to sleep, and who has shorne her of her strength at this the hour of her need.

Repeated attempts by unwise friends have been made to nominate Mr. Calhoun for the Presidency. I say by "unwise friends ;" for in such a contest—a struggle for a party nomination, no man in the Union was weaker than Mr. Calhoun : and for the very simple reason, that being a member of no party, it had been the high mission of his life to act as a check upon all parties—to foil them frequently in their dearest objects—objects deemed by him prejudicial to the best interests of the country. Hence that these attempts failed is no evidence that he had failed to accomplish the great aims of his life. In reply to an imputation that he was actuated in his course by aspirations for the Presidency, Mr. Calhoun once said :

"I appeal to every friend—to my friends upon this floor, upon either side of the House—and to every one in the State of South Carolina, if my whole course of conduct has not been this—that I would not accept the Presidency, unless

it comes to me by the voice of the American people, and then only from a sense of duty, and taken as an obligation. At my time of life, the Presidency is nothing—nothing; and for many a long year, Mr. President, I have long aspired for an object far higher than the Presidency—that is doing my duty under all circumstances, in every trial, irrespective of parties, and without regard to friendships or enmities, but simply in reference to the prosperity of the country."

Though such high party prejudices, as I have described, were ever thrown as a barrier between Mr. Calhoun and the public, he nevertheless exercised a strong political, and decidedly moral and intellectual, influence over the public mind. The very men that would turn a deaf ear to every suggestion, that the spirit of party was dividing and ruining the South, would read his speeches with avidity; and as far as it could be done without injury to party organization, would adopt his plans and principles: and as party lines are not drawn in the moral and intellectual world, so this influence extended over a large number in both of the great political parties. There was, however, a truly conservative body of men throughout the whole country, found scattered throughout the old parties, who, although retaining a connection with these parties, looked upon Mr. Calhoun as the wisest statesman of the age, and were ready at all times to co-operate with him in attempts to reform the government. They were men of clear heads, bold hearts and uncompromising natures—the State Rights men of the day. In their several communities, they were known as men of intelligence, and were the best of citizens—although connected with one or the other of the great parties for particular purposes, yet rarely ever having any thing to do with the organization of either. Apart from the question of the Presidency, these men every where exerted a controlling influence by reason of their high personal character. I have no doubt that to this fact is mainly attributable that other fact in our political history, made the theme of much complaint by party leaders, that so many active and able men have been found in Congress of the Calhoun stamp, representing a constituency who on all mere presidential matters were decidedly anti-Calhoun.

There is another very striking and peculiar feature in the influence exerted by Mr. Calhoun over the mind and morals of the age—that abiding impress of his own character, which he stampt on that of all young men with whom he made a personal acquaintance. In many an instance, a single interview of a few hours of unreserved intercourse with Mr. Calhoun has served to imbue young men so thoroughly with his own spirit, that their future career received from it a strong bias in favor of the great principles which he maintained so eminently. It was no uncommon event of his life that young men have made his acquaintance and been admitted to his friendship, whose political connections and bias were all antagonistic to those of Mr. Calhoun; yet they have left his society his most ardent admirers, and through after life, in eminent stations, have given unmistakeable evidence of the fount from which they have drawn their principles: and in this manner has the stream of Mr. Calhoun's moral and intellectual influence been silently though most effectually brought to bear upon the politics of the day.

Mr. Webster, who had such excellent opportunities of knowing Mr. Calhoun well, thus remarked upon this feature in his character: "He delighted especially in conversation and intercourse with young men. I suppose there has been no man among us who had more winning manners in such an intercourse and conversation with men comparatively young, than Mr. Calhoun. I believe one great power in his character, in general, was his conversational talent." This is very true, but does not account for that marked and powerful influence, which, emanating from Mr. Calhoun, pervaded the young mind of the country. Affinity is no less a law of mind than of physics. It was this affinity, in high moral purity, which attracted the young to Mr. Calhoun, and which made their society so delightful to the veteran statesman. He preserved to the latest moment of his life, the freshness of feeling which belong to the young. Holding himself aloof from those personal struggles which tend so much to excite grovelling

and unworthy passions, and to harden the heart—living a life of self-denial, his mind and heart remained the seat of the most elevated sentiments.

As a public man, he was full of candor and truth—as a private man, he was affectionate, just and affable. He possessed that beautiful simplicity of manner—that artlessness of mind—that true benevolence—that perfect absence of egotism, which in vain sought for congenial intercourse with the great compeers of his day, but which found it in the young men of genius and high moral worth, who, sympathetically attracted, sought communion with such a spirit.

When once within the sphere of his influence, every educated youth recognised, in the principles which he maintained to be the true policy of government, the great fundamental truths taught them in the elementary works on political economy and ethics, as the basis of their future self-education. An after acquaintance with politics assured them of the beautiful truth and consistency of Mr. Calhoun's views with those vital principles—and tended to perpetuate in their hearts the influence which his personal characteristics had first planted there.

Mr. Calhoun was singularly independent and self-reliant; more so than any public man known to our history. He looked within for a judgment as to what was his duty, and he fearlessly and hopefully relied upon his own inexhaustible resources to sustain him in whatever conflict his course might bring him. It has often been said to his prejudice, that he sought to dictate to the South—to lead. Never was there a greater error. He consulted with but few—rarely ever with any one. And in such consultation, if there ever was a difference between himself and his friends, while he yielded no well considered opinion, he never expected one to be yielded to him.

Mr. Calhoun's style as a debater was remarkable for its sententiousness—the simplicity and clearness of its statements—the logic of its deductions—and its compressed energy. There was a beautiful harmony between his

intellect and manner. One was but the reflection of the other—so truthful, natural and unaffected were they. Mr. Webster very justly observed: "The eloquence of Mr. Calhoun, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind." And I may add that his manner partook of all the qualities of his mind. It was lofty, elevated, earnest, harmonizing with the great aims of his intellect. The heart was led captive by the one, while the other convinced the understanding.

Mr. Calhoun's speeches exhibit, even in the reading, in a marked degree, all the characteristics of his mind and of the manner of its exhibition in debate; and in reading the most striking and characteristic passages, one who has often heard him can almost fancy that he hears the tones of his voice and sees the majestic bearing of the orator. Those who have not had such an opportunity, however, can hardly ever expect to realize the true character of his eloquence. There are none like him amongst all our orators, confessedly eminent as they are. He seems to have chosen a different model from those which our great orators have taken as their standards. An English writer thus describes the difference between Mr. Calhoun's oratory and that of his great cotemporaries:

"His eloquence is free from the faults that are often ascribed to the oratory of American statesmen. It had no verbiage—no pretension—no glitter—no clap-trap, in its composition. With such severity of logical precision, such absence of superfluous ornament—such force and compression of language—such vehemence and majesty of intellectual movement, it would not be extravagant to characterise it as possessing something of the antique Demosthenic grandeur."

His person and address were very striking. He was tall, slender, and of most dignified and heroic bearing. He held his head erect, in most impressive majesty. His features were strong—his forehead low, but broad and angular—his cheek bones were prominent—his chin strong and massive, indicative of an iron energy. He had a wide mouth, with thin and compressed lips; while his eyes were large, piercing and brilliant. His whole countenance breathed decision, firmness and great mental activity.

His voice was clear, sonorous and indicative of earnestness and power of purpose. His enunciation was short, quick, yet distinct and impressive. His gesture was animated and appropriate, though rarely made. He stood erect, firm—his posture being natural and in one sense full of severity. His whole person, indeed, was alive with repressed action, yet fixed and immoveable as the premises from which he argued. To sum up all, the stern majesty of his erect and immoveable attitude—the severe, yet highly expressive countenance—the flash of his brilliant eye—the compressed lip—the quick, trumpet-like tones of his voice—the suppressed passion, and energy of his whole being, mind and body—the lofty and elevated sentiments which welled up from his breast or from a perennial fount—the deep conviction of the truth of every word he uttered—all combining to set before the hearer, in a style of deepest impressiveness, the most brilliant thoughts and the profoundest wisdom, rendered Mr. Calhoun the most effective orator that ever addressed the Senate. I say the most effective; and, in using so strong a term of eulogy, speak with reference to the fact that during the last fifteen years of which he was a member of the Senate, owing to his peculiar position in that body—as the guardian of the constitution against party views, he was necessarily much oftener on the floor than any other Senator; and never failed to command the most profound attention of that august body. The same remark cannot justly be made as to any other American orator similarly situated.

Many thousand years ago, in the classic days of Greece, a prisoner lay stretched upon the rack; and at the bidding of a noble looking old man, with bright eyes and blanched locks, a slave plied the torture. That old man was the painter Appelles, and he was torturing an unhappy prisoner given to him for the purpose by Alexander, in order to catch the true expression of intense agony, that he might transfer it to the canvass on which he was painting Titan chained to the rock, gnawed by vultures. A deep groan escaped the tortured wretch, in which his very soul cried

out in agony. "Ye Gods!" exclaimed Appelles, dashing down his pencil in despair, "Would that I could paint that groan." But it was gone—fleeting as the air, leaving but the remembrance of its heart-felt power and truth upon the ear that heard it.

Even so do I despair of conveying to your minds' eye a correct picture of that intangible, yet impressive eloquence which enabled Mr. Calhoun, though always in a minority, to impress not only his views, but also his personal bearing—his action, so strongly upon all who heard him in any of his great efforts.

With Mr. Calhoun there was no distinction between public and private virtue. The great rules of right and wrong, which all acknowledge should govern the intercourse of individuals with each other—but which appear, as by general consent, to have been discarded from the code of political ethics, governed his conduct, both as an individual and as a statesman. It is a sad commentary on public life, that this should have made him a marked man, in the midst of his compeers. He was, indeed, singularly pure. Though passing through the fierce ordeal of a strife of forty years with the relentless spirit of party—in which political exigency demanded the destruction of his influence, calumny and detraction stood back in awe of the majesty of that character, which, whether considered as that of a statesman—of a citizen—or of the head of a family, was a model of Truth—Candor—and Justice.

Though ever engrossed in thought and reflection on matters of the highest consideration, who ever approached Mr. Calhoun's presence, [instead of finding him, as might well have been expected, fenced in with that formal dignity usual with men whose names are associated with important events,] were at once charmed by a manner—unaffected, frank and easy—and with a conversation in which the artlessness and simplicity of childhood were beautifully blended with the experience and wisdom of age.

However high towered the grandeur of his character as a statesman, it but harmonized with the elevated purity—

the truthfulness and justice which marked his intercourse with society. It has been no less truthfully, than beautifully and impressively said, "His was the soul of Washington."

I have now finished this sketch of that great Southerner, John C. Calhoun. Each of the many great events of his life affords material for much thought and reflection; and I have not been able to compress what I thought strict justice required to be said of them within the brief limits of an address usual on such occasions. I confess, too, that my own feelings have warred against all attempts to reduce to greater brevity the views I have taken of his character. In times past, when the feelings and the prejudices of the Union party in South Carolina ran high, none were more industrious than your speaker, on this occasion, in the unenviable task of strewing the path of the great statesman with nettles; and grateful has been the privilege of thus publicly weeding them away from his grave, and old-mortality like of deepening the lines which record the virtues of a character which I, in common with the great mass of the people of the Union at that day, neither appreciated nor understood.

But though feeling thus, I have endeavored to view and to describe Mr. Calhoun in the spirit of history; and under a high appreciation of the remark of Senator Butler—"that the dignity of his whole character would rebuke any tone of remark which truth and judgment would not sanction."

For the ttruh of all I have said, I appeal to the history of the country; and I call to witness that late remarkable scene on the great field of his renown, when he fell in the assiduous discharge of his duty to the South. As Brutus said of Cæsar: "The question of his death is enrolled in the capitol: his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy." Around his bier, the cold and deserted tenement of genius and virtue, gathered the mighty and the good of our statesmen. A Clay was heard, in melting and silvery tones, to exhort his compeers—

—"to be instructed by the eminent virtues and merits of his exalted character, and to be taught by his bright example to fulfill all our great public duties by the lights of our own judgment and the dictates of our own consciences, as he did, according to his honest and best conceptions of those duties, faithfully and to the last."

A Webster took up the strain, and in deep and solemn tones—stern—severe—yet full of pathos, said:

"However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He has lived long enough; he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. He is now a historical character. Those of us who have known him will find that he has left upon our minds and our hearts a strong and lasting impression of his person, his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection, that we have been his cotemporaries—that we have seen him, and heard him and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And when the time shall come when we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism."

And when these, with whose existence that of the great dead has been so long entwined as it were, had passed, a young Senator from our own young State approached and said that—

"Alabama had always accorded due homage to his genius, and still more to that blameless purity of life which entitles him to the highest and noblest epitaph which can be graven upon a mortal tomb. For more than forty years an active participant in the fierce struggles of party, and surrounded by those corrupting influences to which the politician is so often subjected, his personal character remained not only untarnished, but unsuspected. He walked through the flames, and even the hem of his garment was unscorched."

And Wisdom, and Virtue, and sage Experience stood around and said amen to the language of Truth. And the great antagonist of long years heard in silence, and stood in solemn attitude, with shaded countenance, buried in most profound, and it may be, most generous and sorrowing reflection. And the dead was moved away from the scene of his triumphs, and now rests in the sorrowing bosom of the State which gave him birth, and whose name the mighty genius of Calhoun will hallow for all time to come!

But though South Carolina shall be the sole guardian of his mortal remains, his precepts and example belong to the world. Let us seize upon them as a rich inheritance; and learn thereby that, both as men and citizens, we shall best fulfill our duties to the present, and our obligations to the future, by a strict adherence to

"Truth, Justice and the Constitution."